1: Gusinde--629 E-6 (1919-1924) 1937 5916 Yahgan 5916

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Cape Horn Archipelago acknowledge the loving and sensible treatment given them by almost never crying. This strange fact was observed by various travelers. Spegazzini (s):167, for example, reports: "I noted that the children there never cry; they are always happy and contented, whether it is cold or hot, with their completely Adamite clothing" /translated from Spanish/ (148).

148. Hyades (q):193 says of his observations of a new living creature on its first day: "The baby rarely cried and not for long"; the mother "calmed her baby when it cried with little pats on the back" /translated from French/.

The Fuegian little ones really have no reason for making the whole neighborhood aware of their discontent or displeasure by howling and crying, for they come into the world healthy and are not hindered in their movements in the fresh air; they are also abundantly nourished and given all kinds of attention. /718/ Other factors, however, may play a part here; I am thinking primarily of an effective, unconscious influence of the environment. One should visualize how deathly quiet the whole family is in the canoe while they stalk game and steer in its direction. All the persons in the boat are breathlessly attentive until they have reached their booty. Even the low cry of an infant would spoil their success. How the motionlessness of the adults is able to hold the child in check is not easy to explain, but it cannot be denied. A baby that is ill or not sufficiently fed, however, makes itself known loudly enough. Finally we must remember that the Yamana in general are a taciturn and quiet lot.

Every Fuegian mother regards nursing as a duty to be taken for granted. What old Luisa impressed upon me in 1920 was later repeatedly confirmed. All the women emphasize that shortly before and long after confinement they must eat chiefly blystlim mussels, otherwise their milk would be worthless, it would be less nourishing, and their babies would cry all night long. On the Cape Horn Archipelago it is unknown for a mother not to have enough milk, and Holm (s):806 assures us that "all mothers are abundantly provided with milk" /translated from French/. The child announces when he is hungry by restless movements of his head and his whole

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853 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Foegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the 10th day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Foegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (e):183 asserts that "children are not weaned 853 early. It often happens that two children of different births are 862 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the younger which has meanwhile arrived (151).

151. Despard (h):638 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (x):804 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):196 increases this to three years.

862 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

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gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, chémchel, is nothing more than a piece of furry tissue of the loggerhead duck, fiskal (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The furry tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Holly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (155), and, as

155. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (1) 31 and (2) 208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /Freed in English/.

Dobrizhoffer (3) 150 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

Long before the final weaning takes place, the child eats only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the sweet-pacifier mentioned above. Then, as Holly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

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§62 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /almost in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the rendered fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ǰlakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

In Hyades (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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857 is no longer regarded as necesary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necesary, 853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and 862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies 195 on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness during the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they may for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

185 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has 856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he